

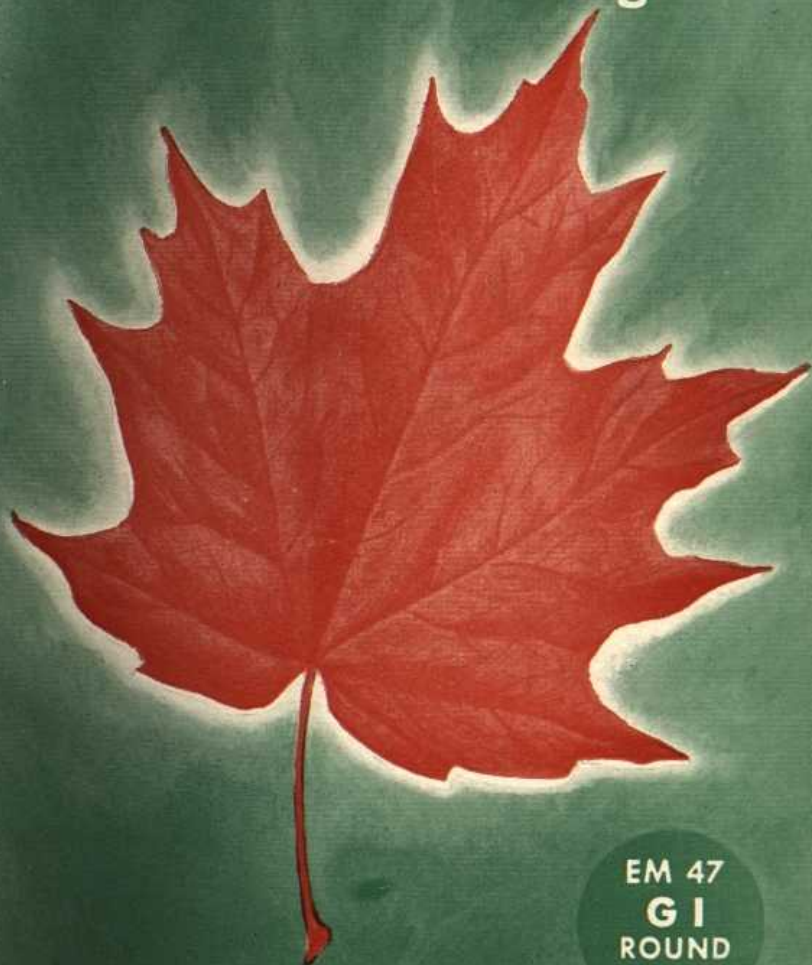
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# CANADA

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## Our Oldest Good Neighbor



EM 47  
**G I**  
ROUND  
TABLE

Prepared for  
THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES  
by

**THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**

This pamphlet is one of a series made available by the War Department under the series title *GI Roundtable*. As the general title indicates, *GI Roundtable* pamphlets provide material which information-education officers may use in conducting group discussions or forums as part of an off-duty education program, and which operators of Armed Forces Radio Service outlets may use in preparing GI Radio Roundtable discussion broadcasts.

The content of this pamphlet has been prepared by the Historical Service Board of the American Historical Association. Each pamphlet in the series has only one purpose: to provide factual information and balanced arguments as a basis for discussion of all sides of the question. It is not to be inferred that the War Department endorses any one of the particular views presented.

*Specific suggestions for the discussion or forum leader who plans to use this pamphlet will be found on page 53.*

**WAR DEPARTMENT**

WASHINGTON 25, D. C., 14 JAN. 1946.

[A.G. 300.7 (14 Jan. 1946).]

**EM 47, *GI Roundtable: Canada: Our Oldest Good Neighbor***

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# CANADA

## Our Oldest Good Neighbor

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USSR



## ***HOW IMPORTANT IS CANADA TO THE UNITED STATES?***

DO YOU REMEMBER how the various parts of the British Empire were always shown in red in your school geographies? Do you remember that by far the largest splotch of red on the map of the world lay just to the north of the United States?

Or were you more impressed by the way the Dominion of Canada showed up on the map of the United States—as a blank white space from the Great Lakes and the 49th parallel up to the top of the map?

Many Americans, unfortunately, have been nearly as void of knowledge about Canada as that blank white space on the map. As a nation we have been astonishingly ignorant of the country in which we have the largest stake, the country that lies closest to us, and the country whose people are most nearly related to us.

### ***How great is our stake in Canada?***

It may surprise you to know how big our economic interest in Canada is. The latest prewar figures show that our trade with Canada, import as well as export, was much greater than our trade with any other country in the world. It was greater than our trade with all the republics of South America put together.

The latest prewar figures also show that several times more American capital was invested in Canada than in any other foreign country. It was more than in the whole of South America. The depression proved our investments in Canada to be the soundest of all our foreign investments. Perhaps if they had not been so sound, if we had lost more in Canada, we might have been less indifferent to that country and less inclined to take it for granted.

Canada is also important to us for reasons of security—as the United States is to Canada. That was why, in August 1938, President Roosevelt told a cheering audience in Kingston, Ontario, that the people of the United States would “not stand idly by if the domination of Canadian soil is threatened” by an aggressor. That was why, two years later at Ogdensburg, he and Prime Minister Mackenzie King agreed to form the Permanent Joint Defense Board for the common defense of the northern half of this continent—in other words, our first permanent defensive alliance. That was why we built the Alaska Highway, cooperated with the Canadians in enlarging their Northwest Staging Route for air transport to Alaska, and established air patrols over the region of Hudson Bay.

For the right to have military installations in the Dominion during the war, we promised to turn them over to the Canadian government afterward. But these, with the exception of the highway, were not to be free gifts to our neighbor. Canada has already purchased all the permanent air facilities, and the other American installations are to be sold after a joint appraisal by the two governments.

The coming of air power has given Canada a most strategic position. Through Canada pass the shortest flying routes from our country to Europe and Asia, the two continents that contain most of the world's population, wealth, and power.



### *How close are we to Canada?*

Canada is by far the closest of all our neighbors. Our Mexican boundary is less than half the length of our Canadian boundary. Not counting Alaska, the United States touches Canada along an unbroken line of 3,987 miles.

Most of the Mexican people live far from our border, whereas most Canadians dwell right beside it. The large majority of the Canadian population is concentrated along the southern edge of the Dominion—within a hundred miles of our country.

In still other ways the Canadians are closer to us than are any other people in the world. No other people are so like us in character. The Anglo-Canadians speak the same language—even the same slang. Canadian English is American English, not English English. The people of Canada are descended from much the same stock—half from the British Isles and half from continental Europe. Canadians and Americans have grown up together in the same environment. Either side along the boundary, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the pattern of daily life is much the same.

Not only are the Canadians more like us, but they also like us more than do any other people. The reason is that they understand us much better. On the whole, they know us as we have not begun to know them, and they are inclined to resent our indifference.

They also criticize us quite freely, and often very justly. But this is the natural reaction of a small nation living under the shadow of a big one. It is also the kind of criticism one member of a family levels against another—whom he would leap to defend if he heard an outsider say the same thing. Most Canadians instinctively do that when they have visitors from the outside world, even from England, who cast reflections on the United States and things American.

## *To and fro across the border*

Until the 1930's when immigration was slowed by the depression, an almost continuous movement to and fro across the border wove the two peoples together.

This intermingling of population between Canada and the United States has been much greater and has been going on much longer than most of us realize. It began even before the American Revolution. By that time so many New Englanders had migrated to Nova Scotia, which was then their frontier, that it was practically a subcolony of New England. Immediately after the Revolution many more New Englanders—called Tories by us and Loyalists by Canadians—settled in what are now the Maritime Provinces of the Dominion. These Americans really *made* that part of the country.

At the same time, farther west, a stream of American pioneers began to pour into what are now Ontario and Quebec. The first of them were Tories or Loyalists from the interior of the old colonies, principally New York. But those who followed in increasing numbers down to the War of 1812 were simple land-seekers. They were the original settlers of the "Eastern Townships"—that part of Quebec just across the line from New Hampshire and Vermont. They were also the founders of Ontario, then called "Upper Canada." Even after the War of 1812 Americans kept on moving over into Upper Canada.

By the middle of the century, the tide had turned the other way. Canadians were pouring into Michigan. At one time they made up 25 percent of its population. In the latter half of the century the exodus from Canada to the United States was much greater. By 1890 it was so great that the population of Canada had almost stopped growing.

Before the close of the century, however, the tide again turned in Canada's favor. What happened was that the human stream filling our West was dammed up when the



last good free homestead land was taken, and then it spilled over into the Canadian prairie. It continued to spill until the outbreak of World War I. During the 1920's the balance of migration once more swung from Canada to America.

As a result of this ebb and flow, about 1.5 of the 11.5 million people living in Canada are of United States origin and there are about 5 million Americans of Canadian origin.

In addition to this more or less permanent exchange of population, there has been a constant coming and going for business and pleasure. In the typical year of 1931-32, Canadian crossings into the United States numbered about 10.5 million and American crossings into Canada about 20 million. Many of these crossings are made by people who live near the border and cross it daily commuting to work on the other side.

Thus for generation after generation, from Atlantic to Pacific, people have moved freely across the Canadian-American border. There has been nothing like it anywhere else in the world, and it has produced an international intimacy—there is no other way to describe it—that is quite unique. To this we will return after we have had a closer look at Canada.

## ***IS CANADA DISUNITED BY ITS GEOGRAPHY?***

THE AREA OF CANADA is considerably larger than that of continental United States, and the countries look somewhat alike on the map—if no railways or cities are marked on it. If these are shown, they indicate that the distribution of population is not at all the same.

As we have already observed, most of the Canadians live along the southern side of their country. Why is this? If you think climate is the answer, you have missed the most important reason. It is geology.

More than half the Dominion is covered by a strange rocky formation that has dominated the development of Canada almost from the very beginning. This Pre-Cambrian or Laurentian shield, as it is called, lies like a gigantic collar around Hudson Bay. It spreads out to the Atlantic, and comes right down to the St. Lawrence, across which it throws a spur to form the Thousand Islands. Westward it encloses Lake Superior, and from there it stretches northwest to the mouth of the Mackenzie River in the Arctic.

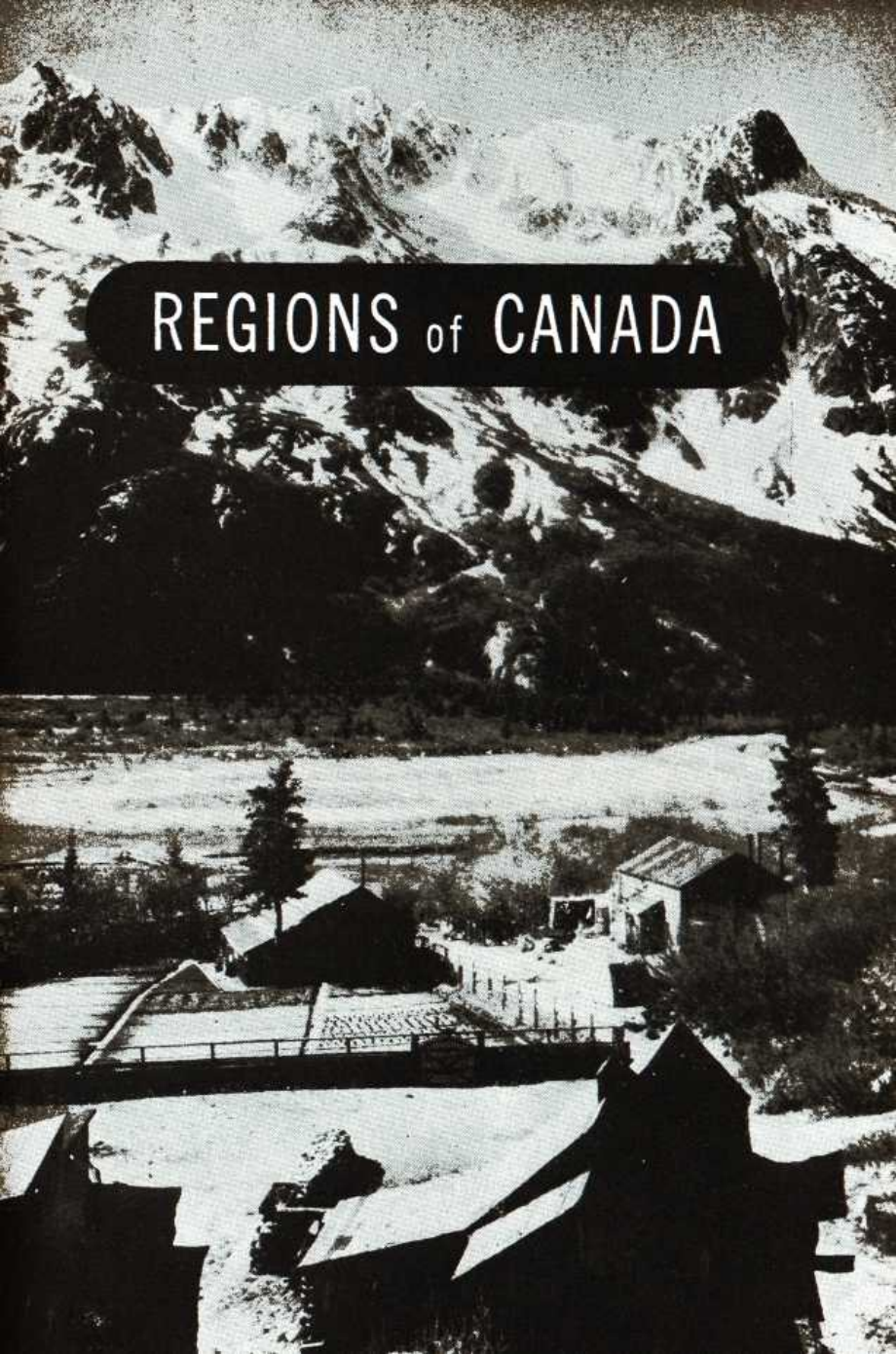
This rocky formation is made up of the stumps of ancient mountains that have been ground down by the action of glaciers in ages past. It is a wilderness of rocks, lakes, and evergreen trees. Long ago it blocked the advance of settlement. It has been of economic use for only three purposes—at first for the furs it produced, and more recently for its wealth of forest and mineral resources.

The Pre-Cambrian shield is to blame for crowding the population of eastern Canada in a narrow belt of territory along the south. It has also cut Canada in two, separating the East from the West by a huge, almost uninhabited area. There is no "Middle West" in the Dominion of Canada.

### ***The Maritime Provinces***

This is not the only way nature has divided the Dominion into separate regions the like of which do not exist in our country. Set apart in the extreme east are the three provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, which Canadians commonly lump together as the Maritimes. They have a French history that is older than the founding of New England, and in the nineteenth century they received many immigrants from the British Isles. But it was the settlement of the Loyalists that gave the Maritimes their distinct character.

These Loyalists were generally people of superior education and social standing—judges, lawyers, doctors, and

A black and white photograph of a mountainous landscape. In the foreground, there are several dark, silhouetted buildings, possibly barns or houses, with snow on their roofs. A fence runs across the middle ground. In the background, a large, rugged mountain with significant snow cover rises steeply. The sky is bright and appears overexposed. The overall scene suggests a rural or frontier settlement in a cold, mountainous region.

# REGIONS of CANADA





Coal mining in the Maritimes



A good haul of sardines



Halifax is Canada's greatest port on the Atlantic Ocean.



Snugly bedded in the lee of hills, this village looks to sea.

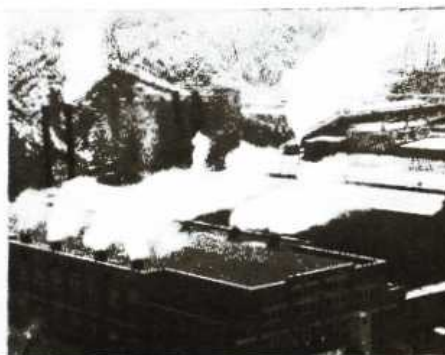
# THE MARITIMES



Montreal, with 1,200,000 people, is Canada's largest city.



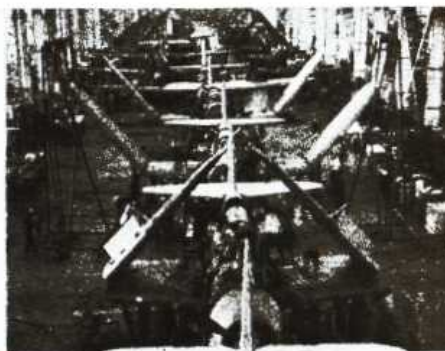
Parliament Hill, Ottawa



A paper mill in Quebec



Iron ore at a lake port



Helldivers for the U. S. Navy

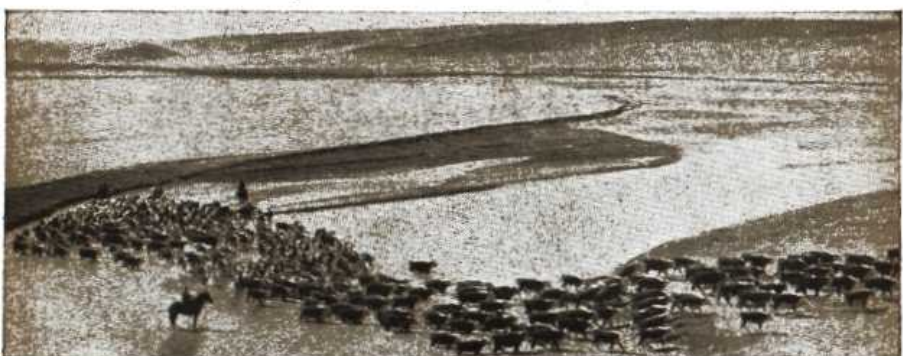
# CENTRAL PROVINCES



Grain elevators line the railroad track at prairie towns.



Harvest on the wheatlands that stretch north of the border



Cattle raising reached an all-time high during the war.

# PRAIRIE LANDS





Comox Valley, British Columbia



Lake Atlin, British Columbia



Logs float down western rivers to sawmills and paper mills.

**PACIFIC PROVINCE**

business leaders. It has been said that a list of them reads like an honor roll of Harvard graduates of that time. Ever since the Dominion was formed, the Maritimes have contributed much more than their numerical proportion of its prominent citizens, particularly in the professions.

Where did they get their brains? Harvard men might have an answer, but Canadians have another. They smile and say "fish," referring to the diet on which the Maritimers are raised—or supposed to be raised. Their life has been largely influenced by the fact that they have lived by the sea, from the sea, and on the sea. The sea is in their blood.

These three provinces are much smaller than any one of the other six, and they are the only ones whose populations spread over their whole area. They are almost cut off from the rest of the Dominion by a rough mountainous barrier and the northern salient of Maine.

### *Central Canada—Quebec and Ontario*

The next region of unbroken settlement is the long strip of Quebec and Ontario that lies south of the Pre-Cambrian shield. It is commonly known as Central Canada. Though not geographically central, it contains nearly two-thirds of the Dominion's population and is the center of economic and political power in Canada.

The province of Quebec is much the older and is predominantly French. For nearly a century and a half it was the main seat of the French empire that extended over a great part of this continent. The city of Quebec, founded in 1608, is older than any city in the United States except St. Augustine. There you can see physically preserved more of the past than anywhere else north of the Rio Grande.

In size Quebec cannot compare with its younger rival Montreal, which is just over three centuries old. This is now the largest city in the Dominion and with its suburbs

has a population of more than a million. It is the second largest French-speaking city in the world, being next in size to Paris.

For many generations the typical French Canadian lived on a little farm, like a narrow ribbon, running back from the river's edge. There are still many French Canadians of the old type, but the majority now live in cities and towns. The province of Quebec, in fact, has proportionately the most industrialized population of any part of the Dominion—though it retains many of its social and political traditions.

Ontario is the richest and most populous of all the provinces. Therefore, its total industrial production exceeds that of Quebec, though in proportion its population is not quite so urban. Its agricultural society is the most prosperous in the Dominion. Toronto, the capital city, is not so large as Montreal by 200,000, but it is two and a half times bigger than any other city in the country.

Ontario is often said to be the core or heart of the Dominion. There is much truth in the statement, and the people of that province are more or less conscious of it. If you tell this to a man from another part of Canada, however, you may get an interesting little explosion. No state in the Union holds a position comparable to that of Ontario in the Dominion. Nor is there any American parallel for Quebec.

Though these two provinces of Central Canada are separated by no natural barrier, the cleavage between them is much greater than any that we have in our country. Not even the Mason and Dixon's line cuts as deep as the division between French-speaking Roman Catholic Quebec and English-speaking Protestant Ontario. But this raises such an important subject that we must consider it separately later.



## ***The Prairie Provinces***

Westward, or rather northwestward, hundreds of miles across the rocky wilderness of the Pre-Cambrian shield, begins the next region of unbroken settlement. This is by far the most extensive in the country. It stretches across the three Prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta—commonly known as the Prairies.

Predominantly agricultural now, it was long a domain of the Hudson's Bay Company, chartered in 1670 and still doing business—now mostly department stores. Canada acquired the territory in 1870—her Louisiana Purchase. It attracted few settlers until shortly before 1900, when it began to fill with a rush that soon became almost a stampede.

The population of this part of the Dominion is a great mixture, having been drawn from the United States, eastern Canada, the British Isles, and continental Europe. It is Canada's melting pot. Over twenty foreign-language newspapers are published in Winnipeg, the metropolis of the Prairie Provinces. Yet it is astonishing to see how rapidly the immigrants from continental Europe have been assimilated.

By and large, the prairie people are the least provincial in Canada. This is largely explained by their diverse origin, their recent arrival, and their main economic interest—the production of wheat for sale abroad.

They are also less conservative. The cooperative movement has been stronger in Canada than in the United States, and in Canada it has been strongest on the prairie, particularly in the marketing of grain. There also arose the two radical political parties of the present day. One is the Social Credit party, called the "Funny Money" party by its opponents, which has governed Alberta since 1935. The other is the socialist CCF (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation), which captured the government of Saskatche-

wan in 1944 and has a considerable following in every province of the Dominion west of Quebec.

The farther west you go on the prairie the more the population spreads out to the north. Here is the chief exception to the general rule that Canadians live close to the American border. Here is the only large area where, humanly speaking, the Dominion has breadth as well as length, where you can travel several hundred miles north through unbroken settlement.

In the West, settlement comes to an end as it runs up against the Rockies. These are a formidable barrier—more so than in our country. In Canada the mountainous backbone of the continent becomes more rugged and compressed, and the passes present more difficult engineering problems for railway and highway construction.

### ***The Pacific Province—British Columbia***

The Rockies cut off British Columbia from the rest of the Dominion. Though this province stretches from the state of Washington up to and behind Alaska, most of its population is crowded into the extreme southwest corner—in and around Vancouver. This is the third largest city in Canada, a rank it gained as recently as the census of 1931, when it surpassed Winnipeg.

British Columbia developed later than any other province or group of provinces. The reason was its geographical isolation before the opening of the Panama Canal. That event *made* British Columbia—that and the immense resources of fish, forest, and mine, which make it naturally the richest of all the provinces except Ontario. It has become one of the world's more important mining regions.

British Columbia differs from the Prairies in having a much smaller proportion of continental Europeans and a much larger one of old people. The genial climate of the coast has made it what some bustling Canadians on the

prairie have called a "land of the tired and retired." It has attracted retired and semi-retired people from all over western Canada and even from the British Isles. Society in this province, particularly Vancouver Island, has a distinct English flavor such as is not to be found anywhere else in the Dominion.

North of the 60th parallel, the Yukon and Northwest Territories and the islands stretching to the Arctic Ocean form a vast area empty of inhabitants except Eskimos, some Indians, and a few whites. It plays no vital role in the life of present-day Canada, but it has rich natural resources which have just begun to be exploited.

### ***Beads on a steel thread***

Now let us view the country as a whole, and we will see that it is not a natural unit, nor even nine natural units corresponding to the nine provinces. Geography has divided it into four quite separate sections: the first comprising the three little Maritime Provinces; the second the two big provinces of Central Canada, Quebec and Ontario; the third the three large Prairie Provinces; and the fourth the single province of British Columbia.

Few countries in the world are so disjointed physically. The inhabited portions of the Dominion, instead of forming a compact block, are separated from each other and stretched out from ocean to ocean. They are strung together like beads on the steel thread of the railways.

Railways, therefore, mean more to Canada than to any other country. Indeed they were mostly built for a national purpose, to hold and pull the country together. The Dominion has been created in defiance of geography. Moreover the geographical unity of Central Canada is cut in two by fundamental differences of race, language, and religion. Thus there are not four but five very distinct regions or sections.



The natural result is a strong tendency toward sectionalism, much more so than in the United States, and this tendency is supported by the governmental structure. The Old South is not so isolated geographically as are the Maritime Provinces or the Prairie Provinces. Nor in all the Union is there any state that coincides with a sectional area, as does each of the other three provinces, Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia. The inherent sectionalism in the Dominion is one of the major problems of the country.

The problem has been complicated by us, quite unconsciously. We could not help it. While geography has divided Canada, it has linked each of the inhabited sections with the adjoining portion of the United States. As a consequence, our country has exercised a strong pull upon each of these parts of our northern neighbor.

It was to resist this pull that the Dominion was formed in 1867, that it acquired the West out to the Rockies in 1870 and British Columbia in 1871. Here is a rather interesting paradox: The very force that might have swallowed up British North America piecemeal saved it by making it draw together to form a nation. The result is that Canada has more national unity than the above account of physical disunity may suggest.

## ***IS THERE A DEEP SPLIT BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH CANADA?***

CANADA'S CONSCIOUS and successful striving after unity should be borne in mind as we examine another great and permanent problem of the country: preserving and encouraging harmonious relations between French Canada and English Canada. In this connection "English" Canada means all the population, whether of British or other origin, that speaks English.

Though it is focused in Quebec and Ontario, the problem is Dominion-wide. A considerable minority in Quebec, nearly 20 percent of the 3.3 million in that province, are English Canadians. French Canadians form considerable minorities in every other province except British Columbia. French is the native tongue of three out of every ten Canadians.

Many Americans wonder why the French in Canada have not been assimilated—swallowed up in the English majority. But assimilation was out of the question. The French did not go to Canada to be Anglicized. They went there to live as French men under the French flag. The history of Canada as a French colony is almost as long as that of the United States as a republic.

After the British conquest of this French colony in 1760, a quarter of a century elapsed before any real English-speaking population settled on the soil of old Canada (Quebec and Ontario). And three-quarters of a century passed before the English-speaking population was as numerous as the French. There was little assimilation, and that little was mostly of English-speaking people by the French.

There was no lack of attempts at assimilation the other way round, but they defeated their own end. The attempts promoted bitter racial strife, and only hardened the determination of the French to retain their separate identity.

The strife did not end until the middle of the nineteenth century. What stopped it was the establishment of colonial self-government on a basis of equality for French and English. That was an object lesson for all time to come.

### ***How deep is the division?***

Canada is like a double-yolked egg. French Canada and English Canada each form, as it were, a nation within a nation. The Dominion is a country with a dual nationality.

Double nationality is very foreign to American ways of

# Canada's Population

11,814,000

VANCOUVER

WINNIPEG

OTTAWA

QUEBEC

MONTREAL

TORONTO

most Canadians live within  
300 miles of the U. S. border

## NATIONALITY BACKGROUNDS

**BRITISH ISLES** .....49.68

English 25.80, Scotch 12.20, Irish 11.02, Others .66

**FRENCH** .....30.27

**OTHER EUROPEAN** .....17.76

German 4.04, Ukrainian 2.66, Scandinavian 2.13, Netherlands 1.85,  
Jewish 1.48, Polish 1.45, Italian .98, Russian .73, Hungarian .47, Others 1.97

**ASIATIC** .....64

**INDIAN, ESKIMO, NEGRO, OTHERS** .....1.65

## OCCUPATIONS OF CANADIANS OVER 14

Agriculture ..... 1,083,816

Logging, Trapping &

Fishing ..... 131,700

Mining & Quarrying ..... 71,886

Manufacturing ..... 703,162

Construction ..... 202,848

Transportation ..... 268,656

Trade ..... 355,079

Finance & Industry ..... 31,392

Clerical ..... 338,031

Service ..... 734,424

Laborers ..... 263,544

Not stated ..... 11,413

**TOTAL** .....4,195,951

in Armed Forces on December 31, 1944 ..... 759,879

casualties to May 31, 1945 ..... 102,954



thinking, but it has to be recognized before one can begin to understand Canada. There are few countries in the world—and not another in this hemisphere—where such complete duality prevails. It dominates Canadian politics, for almost every public question must be viewed with a French eye and an English eye, or it will be seen out of focus.

Canada's dual nationality is published on every postage stamp and on the paper currency issued by the Dominion government, for they are printed in both French and English. It is echoed in the Supreme Court of Canada and in the houses of Parliament, where, according to the constitution, French stands on a par with English as an official language. Every motion in Parliament has to be put in both French and English, members may deliver their speeches in either tongue, and all federal publications—the Dominion laws, the debates in Parliament, and government reports—appear in two editions, one French and the other English.

Both languages are official in the province of Quebec, too, but not in any other province—and naturally the French do not like this. They insist that they should have in the other provinces the same rights as English Canadians have in Quebec.

The difference in nationality, moreover, has endowed religion with special rights unknown in our country, for the French Canadians are solidly Roman Catholic. In the middle of the 1800's, when a public-school system was established in old Canada, the English-speaking Protestant minority in Canada East, formerly Lower Canada and now Quebec, insisted on having their own separate system of tax-supported schools. Otherwise they would have had to send their children to French Roman Catholic schools, a prospect that seemed intolerable to them.

The French Canadians granted the demand, but at a price. This was that the Roman Catholic minority in Canada West, now Ontario, should have the same privilege. This bargain was written into the constitution when the Dominion was formed a few years later.

In Quebec, also, the Roman Catholic church is supported by a tax called the tithe. The law by which this tax is levied was continued from the French regime with an amendment exempting Protestants from having to pay tithes to the Roman Catholic church.

### *Why the trouble over conscription?*

The most serious difficulty that has arisen between English Canada and French Canada in our own day has been over conscription. It flared up in World War I and again in World War II.

Voluntary military service is an old British tradition. Britain did not abandon it until 1916, in the midst of World War I, and Canada was the only British dominion to follow suit. That was because casualties in the Canadian army in 1917 were greater than the voluntary system could replace.

Voluntary recruiting in French Canada had not kept pace with recruiting in English Canada for a number of reasons. The French were naturally more isolationist because they had lived in Canada for many more generations. Practically every French Canadian had to go back nearly two centuries and a half to find an ancestor who lived on the other side of the Atlantic. Another reason for their isolationism was their non-British origin. It inclined them to see the war as a British war in which Canada had no business to be fighting. Moreover they married younger and had larger families, so that a smaller percentage of their young men were free of the ties of wife and children. Their religion also held them back because of two peculiar circum-

stances of the time, one in France and the other in Ottawa.

In France the government of the Third Republic had turned on the church and driven out many of the antirepublican clergy. Some of these exiles found a refuge in Canada. From them and from their own priests as well, the French Canadians had been hearing bitter denunciations of the French government. Therefore when Germany invaded France in 1914, French Canada was disposed to regard the attack as a judgment of God upon what was to them the wicked and irreligious republic.

The other peculiar circumstance was that the Canadian minister of militia, the cabinet member responsible for raising and training the Canadian army in 1914, was the outstanding Orangeman in the country. This means much to Canadians but little to Americans, few of whom have ever heard of the Orange Order.

This secret order arose in Ulster, now Northern Ireland, where it stood for Protestant supremacy and is still a great power. More than a century ago it entered Canada, and there it thrived mightily on the anti-Catholic and anti-French prejudices that have been so marked in Ontario. It was nothing short of tragic that a well-known Orangeman held such a key position during the war.

### *The opening chasm*

English Canada did not understand the situation in French Canada and impatiently cried out for conscription in order to draft the French. There was a general election on the issue. English Canada imposed its will on French Canada—contrary to assurances given when the Dominion was formed that the French Canadians could trust the English-speaking and Protestant majority never to run a steam roller over them.

The French Canadians were crushed. They had horrid visions of being crushed again in the dark, uncertain future.





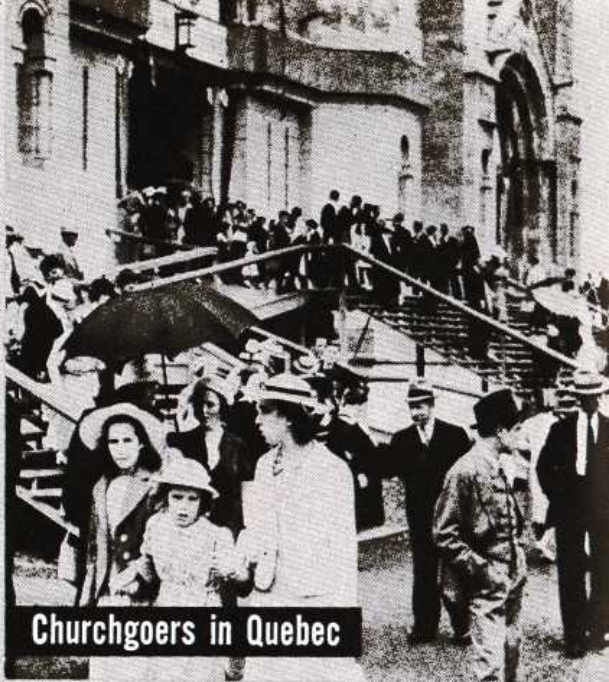
PEOPLE



**Fisherman**



**Worker**



**Churchgoers in Quebec**



**Guide**



**Shipbuilder**



**Labor Outing**





**Prairieland Farmers**



**French-Canadian**



**RCAF Ace**

**Canadians Produce for War.**



**Eskimos**



**Canadians Love It Too.**



Conscription came to have a strange and terrible meaning for them. It implied the ultimate loss of the liberty they cherished above all else: the liberty to be themselves.

The French Canadians received such a jolt that in later years, even after World War II began, both major political parties pledged themselves, as the only way to win votes in Quebec, never to conscript men for overseas service.

At the time France fell in 1940, the Canadian government rushed through Parliament, with almost no opposition, a law giving the government nearly unlimited power over persons and property. Compulsory military training was then adopted, but the Prime Minister said he would not abandon the voluntary system for service overseas. The Canadian expeditionary army was built entirely of volunteers.

Still the French Canadians were nervous, and their fears were roused by English Canadians who began to raise the old cry again. Some of them did it honestly, some in order to bait French Canada and embarrass the government. To clear the air, a national plebiscite was held in the spring of 1942, when the people were asked if they would release the government from its pledge. English Canada voted "Yes," French Canada "No."

The result was more tension, which the government relieved by getting Parliament to legalize the draft for overseas and promising not to apply it until absolutely necessary. It was not necessary until the autumn of 1944, when the Canadian army battering its way into Germany had suffered heavy casualties. The government then extended the draft from home to foreign service.

Meanwhile hot words flew back and forth between the two peoples of the country. English-speaking Canadians attacked the government for coddling Quebec. But the dual nationality of Canada makes it a hard country to govern, particularly in wartime.

## **HOW DOES CANADA GOVERN ITSELF— OR DOES BRITAIN DO IT?**

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION and the American Constitution, which are very different, are blended in Canada. Like the United States, Canada has a federal form of government. It was copied from the American example, with variations inspired by American experience and Canadian needs.

The division of authority between the Canadian Parliament and the provincial legislatures is much the same as that between Congress and the state legislatures. But instead of leaving the provinces all the power that was not specifically conferred upon the Dominion, in accordance with the American principle, the Canadians adopted the opposite principle. They gave the residue of authority to the federal government. This seemed to be the great lesson taught by our war between the North and the South, during which the framers of the Canadian constitution did most of their work. Thus the Canadian constitution bears the indelible stamp of the American Civil War. In practice, however, the provinces have gained in power through judicial interpretation of the constitution.

Another difference is that no province can legislate on banking or criminal law. These are subjects wholly within the federal field. The criminal law is therefore uniform throughout the country, and so is the banking system.

Our duplicate system of courts, federal and state, was also rejected in Canada. There the same courts, with permanently appointed judges, administer both federal and provincial law. Yet another difference is that the constitution bound the federal government to subsidize the provincial governments.

Canada resembles the United States rather than Britain in having a written constitution. This is the British North

America Act (commonly referred to as the BNA Act) of 1867 and its amendments. But if you take it literally it will give you very false notions of how the country is actually governed, as we shall see presently. The reason is that Canada also has an unwritten constitution—like the British—and this governs the operation of the written one.

The most vital part of the Canadian system of government is wholly British and totally un-American. It is the fusion of the executive and the legislative branches of government in the cabinet, which is chosen from the leaders of the majority party in the Parliament at Ottawa. When the Canadians formed their federal union in 1867, they already had this British system in the provinces. They were so convinced by experience and observation that it was better than the American, with its separation of powers and its checks and balances, that they would not consider adopting ours.

### ***The real boss***

Americans are sometimes misled by the fact that government in Canada is conducted in the name of the king. By the letter of the BNA Act, the king rules Canada through the governor general, whom he appoints. In turn, the governor general supposedly rules the provinces through lieutenant governors, whom he appoints. But in reality the Dominion government chooses the governor general and the lieutenant governors—who, like the king himself, are only figureheads.

The real head of the federal government, legislative as well as executive, is the prime minister, in whom all power is concentrated and all responsibility focused. He does not run for election to this high position, nor does he hold it for any fixed period. Moreover there is no law defining it.

The requirements are political rather than legal. The prime minister must be a member of the House of Com-



mons and, more than that, he has to be the leader of the majority party in the House. If he fills the bill, the governor general has no other choice than to appoint him. As prime minister, or real head of the executive, he picks and controls the cabinet. These heads of the various executive departments he selects from his own followers in the House, where he and they remain. There they are answerable to the other members for any and every administrative act.

With the help of his cabinet, the prime minister leads the debates in the House and directs the legislative program. The Senate, unlike ours, is not elected but appointed, has no special powers, and is politically, though not legally, subordinate to the House of Commons. Thus the prime minister runs Parliament as well as the administration. And he can continue in power indefinitely—as long as he remains the acknowledged leader of the House of Commons. But the moment he loses this leadership he has to resign, unless by calling an election he can get a new House that will follow him.

Here is the internal balance of the Canadian constitution, which is quite different from the balance in ours. On the one hand, the members of the House of Commons can turn the prime minister out of office at any time, which enforces his responsibility to them and through them to the people. On the other hand, he can turn the House out to face an election at any time, which gives him a disciplinary control over irresponsible members. As soon as a deadlock appears, it forces a general election, thus ending the deadlock by an appeal to the people.

There is no fixed period for general elections, either federal or provincial. One can be held at any time the government wishes. But there is a limit of five years to the life of the Canadian federal Parliament and the provincial legislatures.

## *Loosening the reins of empire*

Canada got independence without having to fight for it. The American Revolution taught Britain never to tax a colony again. But it also persuaded the British that they should not let the remaining colonies get out of hand or they would break away too. This meant trying to hold them by controlling their governments, and the result was a growing strain in each colony. A little over a century ago two miniature rebellions in Canada startled London into sending out a leading statesman to find what was wrong and how to put it right.

This man was Lord Durham, whose report is a milestone in the history of Canada and of the whole British Empire. He insisted that the only way to keep the colonies was to let them govern themselves as they wished. The magic power of liberty, he proclaimed, would hold the colonial empire together. Soon the British government put his formula to the test, and at once it began to work. That was almost a hundred years ago.

Though mistress in its own house, Canada was a subordinate partner in the Empire. The British government had the legal right to veto any act of the Canadian Parliament, a right that was used once in the early days of the Dominion and never again. Canadian legislation was liable to be overridden by acts of the British Parliament and could not touch the subject of merchant shipping, which Britain regulated for the whole Empire. Canadian foreign relations had to be conducted, at least formally, through the channel of the British Foreign Office. And Canada was bound by the actions of Britain in declaring war and making peace.

These remains of imperial control were all removed after World War I, in which Canada played an important part and earned the right to equality. Along with the other self-governing dominions, Canada got the right to have its own

diplomatic service, inaugurated in 1927 by exchanging ministers with the United States, and later extended by exchanges with many other countries. In the imperial conference of 1926, the following important declaration was unanimously adopted: "The group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions . . . are autonomous communities within the Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another." After much further consultation between the governments of the Empire, this principle was translated into law by the Statute of Westminster, which the British Parliament passed in 1931.

### ***The last remnants of subordination***

Only two limitations upon full Canadian autonomy remain, and these only by Canadian consent. One is in the administration of justice. The highest court of appeal is the Privy Council in London. Canada has stopped all criminal appeals to the Privy Council, and some civil appeals. In all probability Canada will stop the others too when a good solution is found for the problem raised by the second limitation.

The second limitation is that for important amendments of the written part of the constitution Canada has to go to the British Parliament. This may seem strange in light of the fact that the other dominions can amend their constitutions themselves. The explanation lies in Canada's dual nationality. A formula has yet to be found that would protect the rights of French Canada, the minority, without making amendment too difficult to be practical. Some of the best minds in Canada have been working hard on this problem, and they may soon solve it.

We should also notice another question that worried many Canadians during the years between the two World Wars. They argued that as long as the Dominion retained the



British connection the country might be plunged into war by a decision of the mother country over which Canada had no control—as in 1914.

This question, upon which the Statute of Westminster was silent, was finally answered in 1939. When Britain then went to war, Eire declared its neutrality, South Africa wavered on the brink before plunging in, and Canada asserted its independence in this most important decision of all by making its own declaration of war.

Even today many otherwise well-informed Americans cannot quite grasp the fact that Britain no longer exercises any control over Canadian policy. Canadians are more than a little sensitive on this point. There is much truth in the shrewd Canadian jest that the only way Britain might persuade Canada to do anything is to suggest the opposite.

### *What about imperial teamwork?*

Occasional talk that Canada might combine with the other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations so that all might speak with one voice in international affairs need not be taken seriously. The idea of drawing the Empire together again is an old one that still finds many supporters in Britain and some in Canada. But it is now further from realization than it has been in the past. If there were no obstacles in other parts of the British world—and there are many—Canada alone would block it. On occasion Canada has vigorously asserted its freedom from the mother country's apron strings.

Look at the peculiar position of Canada and you will see why. This oldest and biggest of the dominions is the only one that is bound up with any power outside the Empire. And Canada is in the shadow of one of the greatest powers on earth.

Primarily because Canada is American as well as British, Canadians have steadily and successfully resisted pressure



GOVERNMENT

# GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISE

For many years the Canadian government has owned and operated such nation-wide services as railways, telegraph systems, and airlines.



Canadian National Railways



Trans-Canada Airlines



Government owns and runs one of the two telegraph systems.



# CANADIAN—U. S. JOINT DEFENSE

Several joint committees were set up to strengthen mutual defense.  
Most important is the Permanent Joint Defense Board.



Members of the Canadian-U. S. Permanent Joint Defense Board



The Alaska military highway



U. S. bombers at a Canadian base

from Britain and from other dominions to establish in London any new Empire government in which they would all share. Because Canada is American as well as British, it felt—long before President Roosevelt said so in 1938—that the Monroe Doctrine gave a security to match that of the British navy. Every peacetime proposal for cooperative imperial defense, therefore, foundered in Canada.

Also, Canada's economic life is much too closely knit with that of the United States to be torn away and tied up tight in an imperial customs union. The nearest Canada ever came to that was in the Ottawa agreements of 1932. But that was when our Smoot-Hawley tariff had dealt Canada a staggering blow. And see what happened afterward. When Canadians found that we too were willing to negotiate for freer trade, they eagerly sought an agreement with us. They even went to London to pry open the imperial agreements of 1932 so that the Dominion might get still freer trade with us as part of an arrangement for freer Anglo-American trade.

## ***HOW DO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA GET ALONG?***

CANADA IS REALLY more tied to the United States than to Britain. She may be the daughter of Britain, but she is married to the United States—without any chance of separation.

A most revealing incident occurred in 1921, when the British government was about to renew its expiring treaty of alliance with Japan. American relations with Japan at that time were so strained that they suggested the possibility of war. Renewal of the treaty would have poisoned Anglo-American relations, which weren't too cordial then either.

The prospect was intolerable to Canada. Rather than be dragged into a position of hostility toward its powerful neighbor, best friend, and closest relative, Canada would, if necessary, break with Britain. So the Canadian prime minister spoke quietly but plainly to the British government. His veto was effective. The offending alliance was dropped.

### ***The International Joint Commission***

Perhaps the most remarkable illustration of the intimacy of the relations between Canada and the United States is the International Joint Commission. It exercises a surprising amount of authority over the common interests of the two countries along the international boundary.

More than half of the nearly 4,000-mile line runs through waterways, and by the ordinary rules of international law each country has absolute control of all its waters right up to the line separating them. This means that each could use its own boundary waters without regard for the effect on the other side. Here was a situation that clearly called for friendly cooperation and joint control on a permanent basis. Arrangements for this were made by the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, which laid down a new code of international law to govern these boundary waters and set up the International Joint Commission to administer it.

The new code prohibited the pollution of boundary waters. It established a priority of uses, so that there would be no diversion of water on one side that would interfere with a diversion for a more important purpose on the other side. The treaty required that consent of the commission be obtained for any interference with the natural flow of waters that would change the level across the boundary. It also specified the maximum diversion from the Niagara and other rivers.

The commission is an international court composed of



three permanent members from each country. It holds its sessions in either country wherever it is most convenient for all the parties concerned. In addition to administering the new code, the commission is empowered to investigate any international question arising along the common frontier and submitted by the two governments.

One interesting example of the multitude of difficulties that it has settled occurred in the 1930's. A giant smelter at Trail, British Columbia, close to the border, gave off fumes that blighted vegetation. American farmers within a radius of many miles claimed that these fumes ruined or at least injured their crops. The case was referred to the commission, which, after many sessions and much legal and scientific argument, found the extent of the damage, what should be paid for it, and what should be done to check it.

The most important part of the commission's work is to regulate conditions so that disputes will not arise. This is one reason why few citizens of either country, except those immediately concerned, have even heard of its existence. Another reason is that though it is composed of an equal number of Canadian and American members it has never divided nationally on any question and has almost always reached its conclusions unanimously.

### ***Other examples of cooperation***

World War II entwined the interests of the two countries still further, and gave rise to new joint bodies to coordinate them. One was the Permanent Joint Defense Board already mentioned. Another was the Material Coordinating Committee to supervise the movement of raw materials and the distribution of supplies and electric power. Another was the Joint War Production Committee to dovetail the war production of Canada and the United States so that it would reach a combined maximum. To this end there was a virtual pooling of the raw materials of the con-

continent and a mutual suspension of tariffs on defense materials.

More interesting may have been the work of the Joint Economic Committees. Meeting together, they surveyed the resources of both countries as a whole and examined possibilities for more effective cooperation in the use and development of those resources. The Joint Economic Committees were dissolved in March 1944, but work of the more practical Joint War Production Board and Material Coordinating Committee continued through the end of the war with Japan, and the latter body was to last indefinitely. Three other important joint groups were formed by Canada, Great Britain, and the United States—the Combined Production and Resources Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board, and the Combined Food Board. After the end of the war against Japan, the three governments decided to continue these for the time being to help meet immediate postwar problems.

### ***Does Canada want annexation?***

Many Americans have been fooled into imagining that Canada would like to join the United States. The intimacy and the similarity between these two neighboring nations have suggested it, and Canadians themselves have fostered the illusion by the way they have talked from time to time.

It is true that there are some English-speaking Canadians who favor annexation. There always have been some and there probably will continue to be. Canadians have discussed it for generations. In the 1830's the English-speaking minority in Lower Canada (Quebec) openly said they would rather have annexation than allow the French majority to rule.

In 1849 a group of disgruntled English-speaking merchants and politicians of Montreal published a manifesto calling for annexation. Their agitation soon fizzled out.

That was the highest point the annexation movement ever attained.

In the late 1860's it flared up in Nova Scotia, where many people thought their province had got a raw deal in the formation of the Dominion. About the same time it appeared in British Columbia.

Annexationism has usually been the expression of sectional discontent—a stick to shake at the rest of the country. People in the Prairie Provinces have often talked annexation out of resentment against federal policies dictated by Central Canada. But whenever the movement has raised its head enough to attract much attention, it has inspired a stronger countermovement to suppress it.

The idea of annexation has never taken hold in French Canada. It has always frightened that part of the country, and for obvious reasons. The Canadian constitution guarantees the French certain rights for their language and their religion. Special protection for these things most precious to them would disappear under the American Constitution. Numerically, also, their position as a minority is many times stronger in the Dominion than it would be in the United States.

### *Why they stand aloof*

Some Americans have been unable to understand why English Canada has always shied away from annexation. There is more than blind prejudice in the Canadian reaction. Something deeper, something more spiritual is involved. Because it is a thing of the spirit it is difficult, if not impossible, to define or explain.

Two persons may look alike and yet be different in spirit. So it is with these neighboring nations. There is much in the Canadian spirit that is American, but there is also much that is not. This is partly the product of the British tradition, which is a powerful factor. As Canadians resent



outsiders' criticism of the United States, so also do they resent American criticism of Britain.

There is in Canada a certain anti-American prejudice that corresponds to, and is stimulated by, the anti-British prejudice in the United States. Yet there is also a strain of anti-British feeling in the Dominion. It crops out occasionally here and there in English Canada, but without being annexationist. And it is most pronounced in French Canada, where annexationists have never been able to make any headway. Obviously there is something much more than British tradition behind the Canadian spirit, just as there is something more than the anti-British tradition in the composition of the American spirit.

Whatever the other causes may be, the fact of the matter is that there exists a distinct quality of life in Canada of which Canadians are more or less conscious and which discerning Americans and Englishmen sometimes perceive. The Canadians would no more like to lose it than we would like to lose our own national spirit.

If any American wants to annex Canada to the United States, he should never suggest it to a Canadian. The Canadian's reaction is apt to be the same as the American's would be if some Britisher suggested that the United States be reannexed to the British Empire. Canadians love their country no less than we love ours.

## ***WHAT KIND OF ECONOMY DOES CANADA HAVE?***

IN THESE DAYS when we have heard so much debate about private enterprise, it is interesting to observe that Canadians have gone in for public enterprise much more than we have.

When the Dominion was first formed, the federal government undertook to build and operate a railway that

would unite the Maritime Provinces with Central Canada. As a business proposition it did not pay, it could not pay, and it was never intended to pay. It was a great public work to draw the country together.

Similarly when the Dominion acquired the country west of the Great Lakes out to the Pacific, the federal government undertook to provide a railway that would tie the West to the East—the Canadian Pacific Railway. It too was started as a government concern, and though later turned over to a private corporation, it had to be heavily subsidized by the government. Otherwise private capital would not touch it.

In both these early ventures the Canadian people and their government were giving bold recognition to the fact that the profit motive was not sufficient to meet the needs of the nation.

Today there are only two railway systems in the country, both operating from the Atlantic to the Pacific. One is the privately owned Canadian Pacific (17,058 miles). The other is the Canadian National (22,586 miles), which is owned and operated by the federal government.

You may have heard this railway cited as convincing proof that public ownership does not pay. But one can just as truthfully argue that it proves the failure of private enterprise. Most of it, the rest being what the federal government had built and operated, is made up of the wrecks of private undertakings: railways that had become heavily mortgaged to the government and then had gone broke. Not from choice but out of necessity—national necessity—the government undertook this enormous extension of public ownership.

Moreover, the Canadian government owns and operates one of the two telegraph systems of the country, one of the two big hotel chains, and a fleet of steamships. They were all taken over when the railways were nationalized—for

Canada, in contrast to the United States, has not believed in divorcing these lines of business.

### *They seem to like it*

Public ownership and operation of other utilities is also common in Canada. The "Hydro" Commission of the Ontario government has long supplied at cost most of the power consumed in the province. Its success stimulated the development of provincial and municipal power systems throughout the country, particularly in the West. In that part of the country the telephone systems have also been commonly public enterprises from the time they were first installed. The same has been true of municipal transportation.

Perhaps stranger still to us is what happened when prohibition was repealed in Canada—a decade before we repealed it, because in Canada the constitution was not involved. The Canadians refused to restore the old private liquor traffic. Instead, each of the provinces established a public monopoly, with conveniently located government stores selling liquor only in containers for consumption off the premises. Unlike most other government businesses in Canada, which have been operated to serve the public at cost, this one has been run for profit—and the profits have been very large.

During the 1930's the Dominion government entered two other fields which we Americans also usually regard as within the proper domain of private enterprise: radio and air transportation.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) of the federal government owns and operates the only national chain of stations in the country. There are still 100 private stations; but these are supervised by CBC, and their total power is scarcely more than a quarter that of CBC stations. There are also private airlines in Canada, but the



only national system, operating from Atlantic to Pacific, is the federal government's Trans-Canada Airlines.

The motive behind these latest government enterprises was the same as that which had prompted the federal government to build railways. National unity had to be promoted in the face of the sectional pull exerted by our country. Canadians believe the result has justified the effort.

Our major political parties may differ somewhat on the issue of government versus private enterprise, but the corresponding parties in Canada do not. The Conservatives have been just as responsible as the Liberals for all this development. As a rule, Canadian public enterprises in the economic field are kept out of politics.

### ***What did World War I do to Canada?***

The depression taught the United States, rather painfully, how much our economic welfare is bound up with that of the rest of the world. But Canada is three or four times more dependent upon foreign trade than we are. It cannot help itself. Nature is responsible for the situation.

During the opening years of this century, the main-spring of Canadian prosperity was the rapid development of the Prairie Provinces. People were rushing in to build a whole new society on a foundation of wheat. It was a fat land, best suited to the production of this king of all grains.

Industrial Europe was willing to pay a profitable price for all that the Canadian prairie could supply. Wheat poured out of the West and across the Atlantic. The Dominion became one of the world's chief exporters of wheat.

When World War I jumped the prices of food fast and far, the Canadian West almost doubled its wheat acreage and increased its livestock by a third. War demands caused an unprecedented exploitation of the country's forest and mineral resources also—in British Columbia, in

northern Ontario and Quebec, and in the Maritimes. Yet of all the extractive industries, agriculture still supplied the great bulk of Canadian exports.

Another industry, however, was catching up and at the end of the war accounted for more exports than agriculture. It was manufacturing. World War I made the Dominion one of the leading manufacturing countries in the world and transferred to Canadian ownership much of the foreign capital invested in the country.

World War I had yet another important effect. Up to this time the external economic relations of Canada had been chiefly with Britain. Thenceforth they were with the United States. We got more than half the Canadian trade, and New York replaced London as the money market in which Canada was most interested. It was then that American investments in Canada began to be heavy.

### *Between the wars*

The 1920's saw further important changes in the national economy of Canada. British Columbia became a great exporter of lumber. Much more important was the gigantic expansion of its pulp and paper industry to meet the demands of the Orient as well as of the United States. Greater still was the development of mining and smelting in that part of the Dominion. The immense power required by these new industries was got by harnessing the tumbling rivers to provide electricity.

The same kind of development, only much more of it, took place in northern Ontario and Quebec—on the Pre-Cambrian shield. This development was highly important to the prosperity of Central Canada, which then became more industrialized than ever. It supplied these provinces with a new mainspring to replace the old one that was pretty well worn out—the expansion on the prairie. The products of the new North were almost all exported, and

# Canada's Production



	1938	1942
<b>AGRICULTURE.....</b>	<b>\$742,020,000.....</b>	<b>\$1,691,540,000</b>
<b>FORESTRY.....</b>	<b>244,564,571.....</b>	<b>429,079,260</b>
<b>TRAPPING.....</b>	<b>6,572,824.....</b>	<b>23,801,213</b>
<b>FISHERIES.....</b>	<b>35,593,009.....</b>	<b>64,821,702</b>
<b>ELECTRIC POWER....</b>	<b>142,320,725.....</b>	<b>200,345,240</b>
<b>MINING.....</b>	<b>374,415,674.....</b>	<b>514,109,951</b>
<b>* MANUFACTURES....</b>	<b>1,428,286,778.....</b>	<b>3,309,973,758</b>
<b>CONSTRUCTION.....</b>	<b>176,661,077.....</b>	<b>310,917,190</b>
<b>CUSTOM &amp; REPAIR....</b>	<b>99,086,100.....</b>	<b>139,349,000</b>
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>\$2,974,673,454....</b>	<b>\$6,258,464,613</b>

\* Includes sawmills, pulp and paper mills, etc., which are included in the other headings above. This duplication amounts to \$274,847,304 in 1938 and \$425,472,701 in 1942 and is eliminated from the grand total.



most of the income they brought back was spent in the protected domestic market.

The new pulp and paper plants, smelters, and hydroelectric developments required huge capital expenditures. Where did the money come from? Some from the United States, but relatively little. Most came from Canadian savings. The ownership of the country's wealth was more than ever concentrated in Central Canada, and there chiefly in Montreal and Toronto.

Centralized financial control did not mean a greater unification of the economic life of the Dominion, however. When the prairie was the one great area producing for export and the market was across the Atlantic, the main movement of the country's trade was transcontinental. It bound eastern and western Canada together. Now there were two new important export areas. Their trade flowed north and south, for their principal market was in the United States. So the new movement of trade made for regional independence instead of the interdependence that the old movement had promoted.

In one fundamental respect the Canadian economy was still the same. Though the country had added two baskets (pulp and paper, and metals) to its one (wheat), all three baskets still had to go to market outside the country. Canada could not escape from its vital dependence on foreign trade, and in a way this dependence was greater than before. It was extended beyond the prairie, where the alternative was wheat or subsistence farming, to other big regions, where the alternative was worse. There it was lumber or nothing, pulp and paper or nothing, nonferrous metals or nothing.

The depression which began in 1929 hit Canada much harder than the United States, for the prosperity of Canada was much more tied up with international trade. The provinces that suffered most were the Prairies, for the col-

lapse of the grain market shattered the foundations of their economic life. A great readjustment then began, at first slowly and then more rapidly. It was a shift from wheat to mixed farming. The result was that western Canadian farmers got a lower income than before. But they were also less dependent on world conditions.

### *What now and in future?*

By the time World War II broke, Canada, like our country, had pretty well recovered from the depression. As the first war changed us from a debtor to a creditor nation, so the second World War changed Canada into one of the three or four creditor countries of the world. Once again the prairie prospered greatly. This time, however, barely a third of its total production was wheat. Feed grains took its place, for there was a great swing to livestock (beef and pork), dairying, and poultry.

As before, however, most of the production was for export. This of course revived the problem of markets at the end of the war, for Canada cannot begin to consume the food that its West is capable of producing.

This is equally true of other main lines of production. The war caused an enormous expansion that put Canada in top position among the nations of the world in production of nickel, newsprint, asbestos, platinum, and radium; second in gold, aluminum, wood pulp, hydroelectric power, and the building of cargo ships; third in copper, lead, and zinc; and fourth in the production of war supplies for the United Nations—that is, in manufacturing.

Most of us have little idea of the huge size of some of these Canadian industries. Take newsprint, for example. Canada has a mill capacity four times that of any other country. It is equal to the combined capacities of the United States, Britain, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Canada can use only a small percentage of the newsprint

A black and white photograph of a mountain landscape. In the foreground, there is a calm body of water, likely a lake. In the middle ground, a small, dark building with a gabled roof is nestled among evergreen trees. The background features a large, rugged mountain range under a clear sky. The top left corner of the image is partially obscured by the dark, silhouetted branches of a tree. A dark, rounded rectangular banner is superimposed over the upper part of the image, containing the text "OUTDOOR LIFE" in a light-colored, serif font.

# OUTDOOR LIFE





**Netting a muskellunge**



**Skiing in hilly Quebec**



**Deer hunting in the Georgian Bay district of Ontario**

turned out by its mills. We produce no comparable surplus, not even of cotton. And newsprint is only one of many surpluses that Canada must export if it is to maintain its standard of living.

All this means that Canada is very much more interested than we are in getting the freest possible international trade in peacetime. We talk of that as something desirable, but Canadians see it as a necessity.

## ***WHAT WAS CANADA'S ROLE IN WORLD WAR II?***

CANADA, of its own free will, entered the war in September 1939 because it then realized that Nazi Germany threatened the very existence of Western civilization.

Almost from the beginning Canadians were in the thick of the fighting—in the air. In that element the Dominion made its most striking contribution to the general war effort. On the outbreak of hostilities, the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was established in Canada to develop the air forces of Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as of Canada. It was under the direction of the Royal Canadian Air Force, and it cost the Canadian government well over 1.5 billion dollars.

Here it may be well to note that Canada's population is only about one-eleventh that of our country. We have to multiply Canadian figures by eleven, therefore, to get the approximate American equivalent of Canada's war effort.

By 1944, the Royal Canadian Air Force had a strength of more than 200,000. This was only a part of what Canada did in this line, for at the same time nearly half the ground crew personnel and more than a quarter of the air crew strength of the Royal Air Force were also Canadians.

The Royal Canadian Navy, which started from scratch in 1939, grew to 700 ships and 95,000 men. This force too

was in the fight from almost the beginning. It participated in the daring rescue at Dunkirk, and it took over more and more of the Allied convoy work across the north Atlantic—half of it by 1943 and most of it by the end of 1944.

The Canadian army numbered in 1944 about half a million men, five-sixths of whom had volunteered for overseas service. Some of it formed most of the force that suffered disaster at Dieppe in the summer of 1942. Some fought alongside Americans and British in Sicily and Italy. But the main military effort of the Canadians began in June 1944 with the landing on the beaches of Normandy, and continued with the fight across France and into Germany.

Canadian units were out in Hong Kong when the Japs attacked it on Pearl Harbor Day, and the Canadian declaration of war against Japan was made the evening before our declaration. A battalion of Canadian troops took part in the landing on Kiska in the Aleutian Islands.

Canada did not receive a cent of lend-lease aid from us. Instead of receiving, she supplied it to the United Nations. The total at the end of 1944 was some 4 billion dollars, which is more dollars per capita than our lend-lease contribution. On the economic side, the war placed a more severe strain on Canadians than on us. The average Canadian citizen paid more taxes and, on the whole, was subject to more rigid controls. He knows what the war cost and, let us be frank, he knew it longer than we did.

Canada's place in the world is much bigger than it ever was before. Though not a great power, Canada is no longer a small one. It is one of the middle powers—perhaps the strongest of them—and as such is bound to play an important part in the affairs of the world.

In the organization of UNRRA, the "world community chest," Canada has stood next to the United States and the United Kingdom.



The Bretton Woods Agreement on international monetary stabilization embodies much of the plan submitted by Canada.

Canadians played a leading role in the Chicago conference on international civil aviation; and the conference selected Canada as the seat of the interim organization, which is to prepare the way for the new world organization that will regulate civil aviation.

Canada also left its stamp upon the work of the San Francisco Conference, particularly the constitution of the Economic and Social Council. The General Assembly of the United Nations Organization early in 1946 elected Canada a member of the Economic and Social Council.

## TO THE DISCUSSION LEADER

WORLD HISTORY probably offers no example of closer friendly relations between two nations than those of Canada and the United States. This development of cordial relations has been under way for more than a century and a quarter. It has been no accident. It is the result of methods used by Canadians and Americans to face and solve their mutual problems.

This pamphlet turns the spotlight on our oldest good neighbor. Discussion leaders have in Canada a subject that will interest nearly any group of Americans. During World War II, Canadians and Americans fought the same enemies, provided vital supplies for mutual allies, coordinated home front production, and maintained joint groups

to handle mutual war problems. Canadians fought on the major fronts of the war against Germany and Italy. They defended convoys crossing the submarine-menaced Atlantic. They took over the military protection of strategic Iceland in 1940 during the darkest months of the war. They helped defend coasts of Great Britain when invasion fears were greatest. They served a valuable liaison role between the United States and Great Britain.

In discussing Canada and its people, you are considering the nation geographically the largest in the Western Hemisphere.

### ***Aids to make discussion more interesting***

A good map of North America, or separate maps of Canada and the United States, will be helpful in discussing the Dominion. If you cannot get these, you might use the map in this pamphlet as the basis for drawing a rough outline map on the blackboard. On this you can indicate Canada's nine provinces, the Yukon, and Northwest Territories. You can also demonstrate in this way Canada's geographic position in respect to the United States, Alaska, and Newfoundland. A map or globe of the world would help members of your group appreciate Canada's position in respect to world ship lanes and air routes.

War Department Education Manual, EM 1, *GI Roundtable: Guide for Discussion Leaders*, will prove a valuable aid to you in outlining and planning your discussion program. It describes in considerable detail the relative merits of various discussion methods, such as panel, symposium, forum, and informal group discussion. The size of your particular discussion group and the facilities for your meeting will probably determine which method is best for your particular situation.

If you wish to plan a discussion program to be broadcast over a radio station or a loud-speaker system of the Armed

Forces Radio Service, you will find valuable assistance in EM 90, *GI Radio Roundtable*.

A local library may have some of the publications suggested in this pamphlet for further reading. It may also have a periodical reference and other guides for finding further interesting and authentic material on Canada.

Below you will find numerous questions proposed for discussion. As you prepare your program you will probably think of other important questions that would be both interesting and valuable to raise for discussion. Members of your group will appreciate the opportunity to ask their own questions as the discussion progresses.

### ***Questions for discussion***

#### **1**

Would it be a good thing if peoples of other nations moved across each others' borders as freely as do Canadians and Americans? Is the average American's interest in Canada likely to be greater or less now that the war is over? What do you believe are the basic reasons why Canada, a small nation in population, and the United States, a large nation, have lived side by side so harmoniously?

#### **2**

Does Canada's Pre-Cambrian shield, covering so large a land area, indicate that the Dominion must *always* have a small population? How do Canada's major geographic areas differ from ours? Do you think the Yukon and Northwest Territories have an important future? What is the significance of Canada's geographic position in relation to post-war international air routes?

#### **3**

Since peoples of British and French origins live together harmoniously in the United States, why does the English-



French racial problem remain so pronounced in Canada? Were French Canadians justified in their opposition to conscription for overseas service? Did World War II increase or decrease the racial unity of Canada?

4

Is the Canadian or American form of federal government more democratic? Is Canada's system of permanently appointed judges a better or worse one than ours for administering justice? Would our government be improved if the president and members of his cabinet could be questioned directly on the floor of Congress, as the prime minister and his ministers can be questioned in the Canadian House of Commons? Is the right to call a general election at any time, rather than having elections at fixed intervals, an advantage or disadvantage? Does the Canadian constitution afford a better or poorer balance of executive, legislative, and judicial authority than does our Constitution?

5

Do you think Canada benefits or suffers by its two remaining limitations on complete autonomy—appeal to the Privy Council of London and amendment to its constitution through the British Parliament? What would Canada lose in relations with the United States if a new Empire government were to be set up to coordinate British Commonwealth international policies? With other nations? Would Canada's membership in the Pan American Union strengthen or impair its position in the British Commonwealth? Would Canada's Pan American Union membership benefit the United States? Latin-American countries?

6

Could peacetime international joint committees or boards to handle United States-Canadian economic or other mutual problems operate as successfully as did the various wartime

joint groups? Did World War II increase or decrease Canada's influence among other nations?

7

Why is public enterprise popular in Canada and unpopular in the United States? Can we learn valuable lessons from Canada's experience with public ownership of utilities, radio, railroads, and airlines?

8

Should future trade between the United States and Canada be encouraged by lower tariffs or discouraged by higher ones? Does Canadian industry offer serious competition to United States industry? Agriculture? Could the United States-Canadian example of cooperation and friendly neighborliness be followed by other nations with mutual boundaries? What steps could be taken to strengthen United States-Canadian relations in the future?

## FOR FURTHER READING

THESE BOOKS are suggested for supplementary reading if you have access to them or wish to purchase them from the publishers. They are not approved nor officially supplied by the War Department. They have been selected because they give additional information and represent different points of view.

**BUILDING THE CANADIAN NATION.** By George W. Brown. Published by J. M. Dent and Sons, Aldine House, 224 Bloor St., W., Toronto 5, Canada (1942). \$2.25.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF CANADA FOR AMERICANS.** By Alfred L. Burt. Published by University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 14, Minn. (1944). \$3.00.

**CANADA—AN INTRODUCTION TO A NATION.** Published by Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 230 Bloor St., W., Toronto 5, Canada. (1943). 10 cents.

- DOMINION OF THE NORTH. By Donald G. Creighton. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., 2 Park St., Boston 7, Mass. (1944). \$3.50.
- CANADA: OUR DOMINION NEIGHBOR. By Merrill Denison. No. 46 of *Headline Series*, published by Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th St., New York 16, N. Y. (1944). 25 cents.
- CANADA AND THE BUILDING OF PEACE. By Grant Dexter, Published by Canadian Institute of International Affairs (1944). \$1.00.
- THE UNKNOWN COUNTRY: CANADA AND HER PEOPLE. By Bruce Hutchison. Published by Coward-McCann, 2 West 45th St., New York 19, N. Y. (1942). \$3.50.
- THE UNGUARDED FRONTIER, A HISTORY OF AMERICAN-CANADIAN RELATIONS. By Edgar McInnis. Published by Doubleday, Doran and Co., Garden City, N. Y. (1942). \$3.00.
- CANADA: MEMBER OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND GOOD NEIGHBOR OF THE UNITED STATES. By Frederick G. Marcham. No. 1 of *Curriculum Series in World History*, published by Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y. (1943). 40 cents.
- CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES. By Francis R. Scott. No. 2 of *America Looks Ahead*, a series of pamphlets published by World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston 8, Mass. (1941). 25 cents.
- THE CANADIANS, THE STORY OF A PEOPLE. By George M. Wrong. Published by Macmillan and Co., 60 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y. (1938). \$3.50.
- IN CANADA IT'S DIFFERENT. An article by Bruce Hutchison in *Fortune*, August 1945.



## OTHER GI ROUNDTABLE SUBJECTS

INTRODUCTORY COPIES of each new *GI Roundtable* pamphlet are automatically issued to information-education officers in the United States and overseas areas. Additional copies are authorized on the basis of one copy for each 25 military personnel. Pamphlets may be requisitioned from the United States Armed Forces Institute, Madison 3, Wisconsin, or from the nearest USAFI Oversea Branch. List EM number, title, and quantity. New subjects will be announced as published. *GI Roundtable* subjects now available:

- EM 1, GUIDE FOR DISCUSSION LEADERS
- EM 2, WHAT IS PROPAGANDA?
- EM 10, WHAT SHALL BE DONE ABOUT GERMANY AFTER THE WAR?
- EM 11, WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE WAR CRIMINALS?
- EM 12, CAN WE PREVENT FUTURE WARS?
- EM 13, HOW SHALL LEND-LEASE ACCOUNTS BE SETTLED?
- EM 14, IS THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY A SUCCESS?
- EM 15, WHAT SHALL BE DONE ABOUT JAPAN AFTER VICTORY?
- EM 20, WHAT HAS ALASKA TO OFFER POSTWAR PIONEERS?
- EM 22, WILL THERE BE WORK FOR ALL?
- EM 23, WHY CO-OPS? WHAT ARE THEY? HOW DO THEY WORK?
- EM 24, WHAT LIES AHEAD FOR THE PHILIPPINES?
- EM 27, WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF TELEVISION?
- EM 30, CAN WAR MARRIAGES BE MADE TO WORK?\*
- EM 31, DO YOU WANT YOUR WIFE TO WORK AFTER THE WAR?
- EM 32, SHALL I BUILD A HOUSE AFTER THE WAR?
- EM 33, WHAT WILL YOUR TOWN BE LIKE?
- EM 34, SHALL I GO BACK TO SCHOOL?
- EM 35, SHALL I TAKE UP FARMING?
- EM 36, DOES IT PAY TO BORROW?
- EM 37, WILL THERE BE A PLANE IN EVERY GARAGE?
- EM 40, WILL THE FRENCH REPUBLIC LIVE AGAIN?
- EM 41, OUR BRITISH ALLY
- EM 42, OUR CHINESE ALLY
- EM 43, THE BALKANS—MANY PEOPLES, MANY PROBLEMS
- EM 44, AUSTRALIA: OUR NEIGHBOR "DOWN UNDER"
- EM 45, WHAT FUTURE FOR THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC?
- EM 46, OUR RUSSIAN ALLY
- EM 90, GI RADIO ROUNDTABLE

\* For distribution in the United States only.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office  
Washington 25, D. C. - Price 15 cents

**Our Oldest Good Neighbor**